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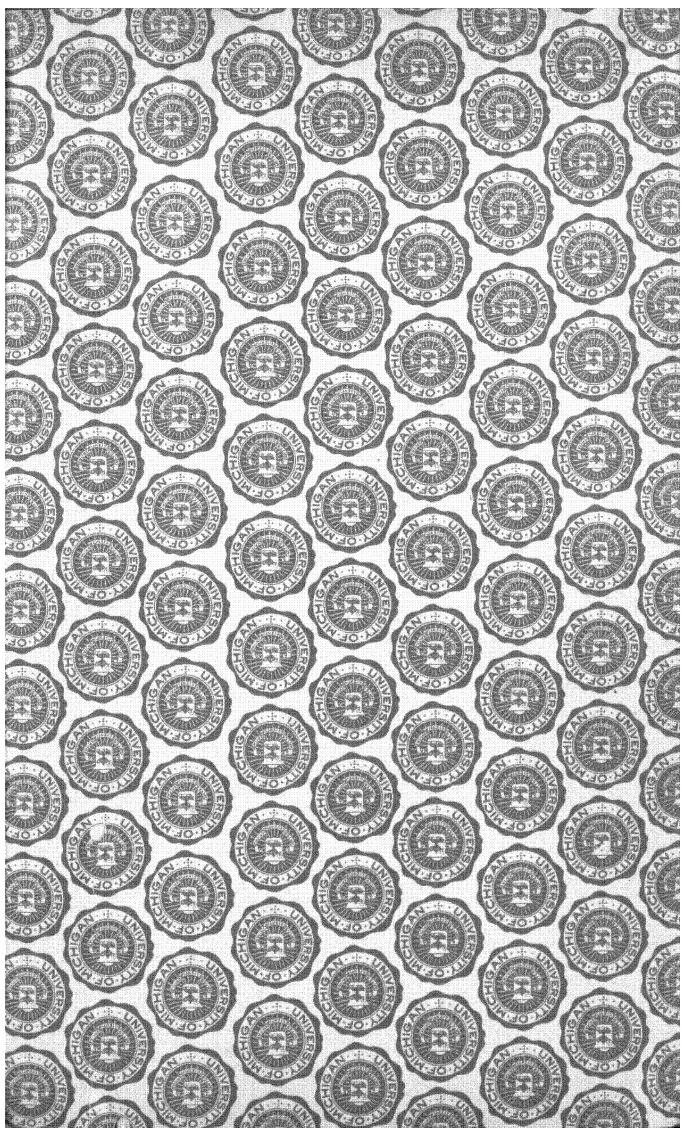
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EIGHTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

WITH A PAPER ON THE

HISTORY OF THE HONOLULU FORT

BY DR. N. B. EMERSON.

HONOLULU, H. T.

1900.



HONOLULU:

The Robert Grive Publishing Company, Ltd.

1900.

OFFICERS—1901.

PRESIDENT	N. B. EMERSON
VICE-PRESIDENT	Hon. S. B. DOLE
" "	J. S. EMERSON
" "	W. F. ALLEN
" "	T. G. THRUM
" "	Mrs. E. M. NAKUINA
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	W. D. ALEXANDER
RECORDING SECRETARY	W. F. FREAR
TREASURER AND LIBRARIAN	Miss M. A. BURBANK

Rev. T. M. Spaulding

1-11-1924

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD DECEMBER 10, 1900.

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall on the evening of December 10, 1900, the President, N. B. Emerson, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Miss M. A. Burbank, presented her report for the year, showing receipts \$523.93, expenditures \$328.95, and a balance on hand of \$194.98. Miss Burbank also presented her report as Treasurer, referring, among other things, to the valuable gift from Mrs. Hyde of the complete set of books in the Hawaiian language which had been collected by the late Dr. C. M. Hyde, whose wish it was that the collection should ultimately belong to this Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, then read his report as Corresponding Secretary.

These reports were all accepted and ordered printed.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:

DR. N. B. EMERSON.....	President
HON. S. B. DOLE.....	First Vice-President
MR. J. S. EMERSON.....	Second Vice-President
MR. W. F. ALLEN.....	Third Vice-President
MRS. E. M. NAKUINA.....	Fourth Vice-President
MR. T. G. THRUM.....	Fifth Vice-President
PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.....	Corresponding Secretary
MR. W. F. FREAR.....	Recording Secretary
MISS M. A. BURBANK.....	Treasurer and Librarian

The following persons were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the Board of Managers: Rev. W. D. Westervelt, Mr. T. F. Sedgwick, Rev. A. M. Smith, Ph. D.; Messrs. E. A. Mott-Smith and H. M. Mott-Smith. Lieutenant W. E. Safford was elected a corresponding member.

Article 5 of the Constitution was amended so as to read the annual meeting shall be held "on or about November 28," instead of "on November 28."

It was voted that the Librarian be paid \$100.00 for the current year, 1900, out of any available funds.

The paper of the evening was then read by the President, Dr. N. B. Emberson. This was a very interesting history of the Old Fort in Honolulu. In connection with the paper there were exhibited two pictures of the Old Fort, made by Paul Emmett, and kindly loaned for the occasion by Mr. W. C. Parke, whose father had been Marshal during the latter history of the Fort. Interesting incidents connected with the Fort were then related by Governor S. B. Dole, Mrs. Emma M. Nakuna, whose father, Mr. Metcalf, had been the first Marshal at the Fort; Mr. W. F. Allen, Mr. W. C. Parke and Mr. T. G. Thrumb.

On motion of Mr. Allen the Society voted its thanks to Dr. Emerson for his valuable paper, and requested a copy thereof for publication. The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER
OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I herewith submit the Treasurer's Report for the year ending November 28th, 1900.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

RECEIPTS.

1899.

Nov. 28—Balance on hand	\$ 10 58
Interest on Government bonds.....	180 00
Principal and interest from Postal Savings B'k.	294 60
Collection of Members' dues	35 00
Sale of papers	3 63

	\$523 93

EXPENDITURES.

Paid for filing papers.....	\$110 00
" Librarian's salary for the year.....	100 00
" Janitor's salary for thirteen months.....	19 50
" Janitor for poisoning book shelves.....	30 00
" Commissions on collection of members' dues.....	5 00
" Express for transportation of books.....	50
" Haw. Star for advertising Annual Meeting.....	3 00
" Haw. Gazette Co. 200 Postal Cards and printing ...	4 00
" Haw. Gazette Co. 1000 cards and ruling.....	4 75
" Kegan Paul, French, Trubner & Co. Caroline Islds.	3 25
" Robt. Grieve Pub. Co. printing 7th Annual Report.	45 00
" For wrappers and addressing pamphlets.....	2 25
" For postage stamps.....	2 00

	\$328 95
Balance on hand.....	194 98

	\$523 93

M. A. BURBANK, Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 10, 1900.

To the officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

Gentlemen:—The Library of the Society has received this year a very valuable addition in the gift from Mrs. Hyde of the complete collection of books printed in the Hawaiian language which had been gathered together by the late Dr. C. M. Hyde, whose wish it was that the collection should ultimately belong to the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Miss Judd has presented a number of Hawaiian Gazettes.

Various pamphlets have been sent as exchanges. Other institutions with which this Society exchanges being The Field Columbian Museum, Harvard University Library, Kansas Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Montana State Historical Society, Nebraska State Historical Society, New York Public Library, New Hampshire State Library, Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Smithsonian Institute, St. Louis Public Library, Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco; University of California Library, Yale University Library, "The Caroline Islands," by F. W. Christian, giving an account of the mysterious ruins there, is also a recent attition to our library. Many newspapers and pamphlets have also been filed and catalogued.

Some valuable books with worn-out bindings it would be well to have re-bound.

Respectfully submitted,

M. A. BURBANK,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1900.

When I remembered that a report would be expected from your Corresponding Secretary this evening, I was reminded of the German student, who, on being required to produce an essay on the camel, retired to his study, there to evolve from his inner consciousness the abstract idea of the camel; or again of the piñgt of the children of Israel when compelled to make bricks without straw.

It is a trite saying that "*Inter arma silent leges*," and so the rapid changes, political and commercial, which are taking place in these islands, have absorbed the attention of our community to the almost total exclusion of the history and folk-lore of the past. Hence the dearth of contributions which we deplore. Here I beg leave to state (to remove any misapprehension) that not only elaborate papers on special subjects, but brief communications containing information on historical events or personages, or myths or traditions or ancient customs, will be thankfully received by the officers of the Society.

Of the interesting and valuable lecture on Samoan politics, delivered before this Society last May by the Hon. H. M. Sewall, the portion relating more immediately to the part taken in them by the Hawaiian Government has been published in our Seventh Annual Report.

Our President has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Old Honolulu Fort, which we are to have the pleasure of listening to this evening. I am happy to be able to state that a work by the same author on "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," treating especially of the cycle of legends and poems connected with the cult of Laka and of Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, is to be published in the near future.

The past History of Hawaii abounds in tempting material for imaginative literature, which has furnished a basis for two recent romances of more than ordinary merit, viz., the story of

"Hiwa," by Mr. E. P. Dole, and that of "Kelea, the Surf-Swimmer of Maui," by Dr. A. S. Twombly.

It is to be hoped that the publication of the translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities" will not be long delayed either by insufficiency of means or other hindrances.

The recent work by Mr. F. W. Christian on the Caroline Islands throws much light on the origin of the mysterious ruins found in the islands of Bonabe and Kussaie, as well as on the ethnology of that archipelago. The long continued residence of our corresponding member, Lieut. W. E. Safford, so well known as a Polynesian scholar and naturalist, in the island of Guam, will no doubt result in valuable contributions to our knowledge of the aboriginal people of the Ladrone or Marianne Islands.

But it may safely be said that no territory of the United States has had so varied and interesting a history or folk-lore as that of Hawaii, which it is the avowed object of this society to preserve from oblivion, in the interest of the science of Man.

Both in the archives of the Government and in private collections are many precious historical MSS., which should be edited and published either by this society or by the Territorial Government.

The progressive commonwealth of New Zealand is setting us a laudable example by the zeal and liberality which have been shown by both its government and its citizens, in bringing to light and preserving, as far as possible, everything that relates to the past history, the ethnology and folk-lore of that interesting country.

In view of the actual situation here, it does not seem too much to say that the work of our society, so far from being completed, is in fact only just begun.

As this is the closing year of the 19th century, it seems to be a fitting time to give a complete list of the reports and papers published by the Hawaiian Historical Society to date:

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

A LIST OF PUBLICATIONS* OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL REPORTS.

- 1st Annual Report, read Dec. 5, 1892, containing Reports, Constitution and By-Laws.
- 2nd Annual Report, numbered 3rd Annual Report and read Nov. 30th, 1894, which contains in addition to the Reports, a brief sketch of the "Life of Kamehameha V, and Personal Recollections of Him by R. A. Lyman.
- 3rd Annual Report, numbered 4th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1895, containing an article on Tahiti by Miss Teuira Henry, and Historical Notes by E. Bailey.
- 4th Annual Report, read Nov. 28, 1896, containing "The Legend of the Shark-man, Nanaue," by Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina; 2. "On an Autograph Letter by Jean B. Rives," by Prof. W. D. Alexander; 3. "The Last Hours of Liholiho and Kamamalu," by Theo. H. Davies.
- 5th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1897, containing a lecture by S. Percy Smith, Esq., on the "Origin and Migrations of the Polynesians," and an article on "Tahitian Folk-lore," by Miss Henry, besides an essay on the career of "Capt. Hypolite Bouchard and his Treaty with Kamehameha I," written by Paul Neumann, Esq.
- 6th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1898, containing an article on the original maker of the Hawaiian flag, by W. D. Alexander, letters by the late Stephen H. Phillips, and Gov. J. O. Dominis, in regard to the last hours of Kamehameha V, and a paper "Regarding Ho-ao, Hawaiian Marriage," by Dr. N. B. Emerson.
- 7th Annual Report, read May 11, 1900, containing besides the reports, part of a lecture on Samoan affairs, by Hon. H. M. Sewall.

8th Annual Report, read Dec. 10, 1900, containing a paper entitled "The Honolulu Fort," by Dr. N. B. Emerson.

PAPERS PUBLISHED SEPARATELY BY THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PAPERS.

- No. 1, Read January 28, 1892, "The Relations Between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America in Early Times," by W. D. Alexander.
 - No. 2, Read April 7, 1892, "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," by J. S. Emerson, and "Traces of Spanish Influence in the Hawaiian Islands," by C. J. Lyons.
 - No. 3, Read December 5, 1892, by Hon. S. B. Dole, on "The Evolution of Hawaiian Land Titles."
 - No. 4, Read March 6, 1893, "Early Voyagers of the Pacific Ocean," by Alatau T. Atkinson, Esq.
 - No. 5, Read May 18, 1893, by Dr. N. B. Emerson, on "The Long Voyages of Ancient Hawaiians."
 - No. 6, Read May 7, 1894, by W. D. Alexander, on "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai in 1814-1819."
 - No. 7, Read June 26, 1894, by Hon. W. F. Frear, on the "Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary."
 - No. 8, Read July 18, 1895, "Honolulu in 1817-1818," by James Hunnewell, and "The Voyage of the Albatross," by W. D. Alexander.
 - No. 9, Read July 2, 1897, by W. D. Alexander, on the "Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation of 1854."
 - No. 10, On "Honolulu in 1853," by Mr. Warren Goodale, with a supplement by T. G. Thrum.
- A Catalogue of the Bound Books in the library of the Society, numbering then about a thousand, published in 1897.

THE HONOLULU FORT.

Read Before the Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, H. I.,

Dec. 10, 1900.

BY N. B. EMERSON, M. D.,

President of the Society.

Of the Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society Number 11.

One of the most characteristic, if not picturesque, features of old Honolulu, as seen by one entering its harbor, was the fort, the whitened walls of which stood prim and square close to the water's edge on land that lies immediately makai of Queen street and at its intersection with the seaward extension of Fort street.

The building of the fort at Honolulu was an event that well illustrates the truth, remarked by our Historian, that there are "many links connecting the history of these islands with that of the North-west coast of America." At the beginning of the present century, the Russian-American Company, having obtained an imperial ukase from the tsar, Paul I, absorbed the numerous Russian trading concerns whose rivalry in exploiting the fur-sealing business of North-western America had overstepped the limits of healthy competition and reached the point of violence and bloodshed.

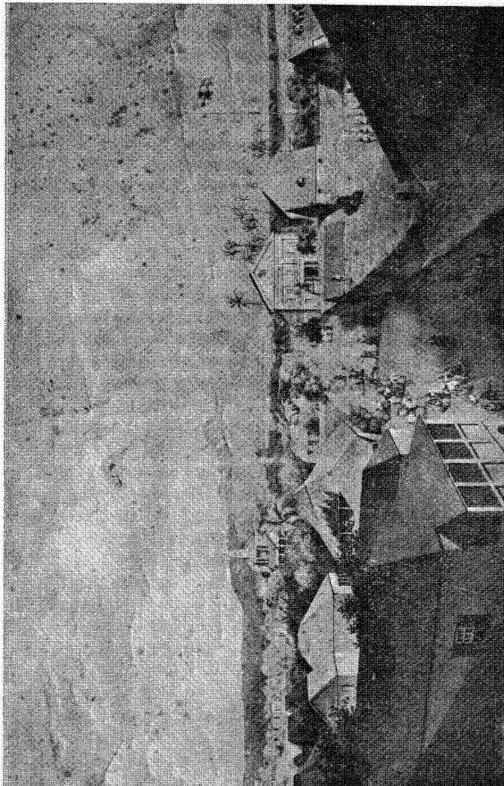
These jarring interests reconciled, and the home forces organized under the management of one leader, Governor Baranof found it necessary to head off other competitors. Traders, chiefly from England and America, had pushed in and by the possession of better and cheaper goods, in the enjoyment of warmer latitudes in which to refit and recruit, with the world's market nearer at hand, were in a position to work havoc with the Russian monopoly. To the Russians, separated from their home market and base of supplies by the whole width of Russia and Siberian Asia, a near market for the sale and exchange of their peltry

was desirable, but a reliable and accessible base of food-supply was a necessity. Governor Baranof was a man of clear intelligence and great resources, and used every effort to meet the situation. His efforts went so far as to send expeditions for exploration and to plant colonies as far south as the coast of California, thus coming in conflict with the Spaniards. These atatempts at colonization were mainly with an eye to agriculture and had in view the providing of an adequate food-supply for the distressed colonists under his control in Alaska, but only ended in loss and failure.

Still casting about for the means of relieving the situation, Baranof turned wistful eyes to the seven islands that formed the kingdom of Kamehameha, and in 1808 Captain Hagemeister sailed for the Sandwich Islands in charge of the *Neva*, with (secret) instructions to establish a colony there and survey the field with a view to future occupation.† Fortunately the Scotchman, Alexander Campbell, was with the expedition in the capacity of interpreter, and in conversation with a countryman at Lahaina (MacCallum) in a moment of lucky indiscretion let the Russian cat out of the bag by revealing the secret purpose of the expedition, for which he was soundly rated by the captain for his frankness, who immediately sought to cloak his real purpose by giving out that he had an eye single to trade. Though nothing came of this colonization scheme at the time, it had an eye-opening effect on Kamehameha, who the next year made advances towards placing his kingdom under the protection of the British flag.‡

The next step to be noted is Baranof's purchase of the American ship *Atahualpa*, rechristened the *Behring*, and of her consort, the *Lady*, rechristened the *Ilinen*. This was in 1814. Captain Bennett, from whom the purchase was made, was finally employed to conduct the *Behring* on the voyage to the Sandwich Islands, where he was instructed to buy a cargo of taro, salt and other provisions. This vessel was cast away at Waimea, on Kauai, and her cargo was cared for by King Kaumualii. No

† H. H. Bancroft, *The History of the Pacific Coast*, Vol. xxviii, p. 490.
‡ H. H. Bancroft, *Loc. cit.*



VIEW OF THE HONOLULU FORT,
With Diamond Head in the distance. Drawn from nature
and lithographed by G. H. BURGESS, about 1856.

one can read the annals of those old times without being struck with the frequency with which sailing craft met with the untimely fate of being cast away.

At this time happens along at Sitka (New Archangel) one Doctor Scheffer, a linguist and man of science a plausible adventurer, who ingratiates himself into favor with the doughty Baranof and succeeds in persuading him that he is the man to conduct to success the Governor's scheme of colonization in the Sandwich Islands. Perhaps it was that the shrewd Governor took counsel of his prudence; at any rate, as if to disarm suspicion, the Doctor took passage on the American ship Isabella, leaving New Archangel Oct. 5th, 1815. Having interviewed Kamehameha at Kailua, Hawaii, he proceeded to Kauai and took charge of the cargo of the wrecked Behring (*né Atahualpa*), it having been arranged that the vessel Otkrytie (Discovery), under command of Lieutenant Podushkin, should follow in the spring with a number of native mechanics and laborers to establish a settlement. It is easy to believe that the wily German doctor played upon the ambition and discontent of Kaumualii and used them for all they were worth in the service of his own ends. At any rate he secured from that king the grant of valuable lands on Kauai, including the valley of Hanalei, to command which he threw up a redoubt and mounted cannon on heights overlooking the Hanalei river and valley. At a later date, on the invitation, it is said, of Kaumualii, Doctor Scheffer took charge of the construction of a more formidable fortification known as the Waimea fort, on which guns were mounted and the Russian flag hoisted.

It should be borne in mind that, though Kamehameha had not taken formal possession of Kauai, its king, Kaumualii, had in 1810, through his cousin Kamahalolani, made presents to the conqueror while the latter was on Oahu, and had acknowledged him as his feudal superior † and that at a later date, on receiving pledges for his personal safety—a much needed precaution, as it proved—he had visited Kamehameha, still at Honolulu,

† A Brief Hist. of the Hawn. People. W. D. Alexander, p. 155.

and had repeated his former offer. The character of Kaumualii stands in such universally good repute for honor and sound judgment that it is not easy to believe he was on this occasion led captive, and entirely committed himself to the ambitious projects Doctor Scheffer laid before him, which included the overthrow of Kamehameha with Russian assistance and the placing of Kaumualii on the throne of the Hawaiian kingdom, under the protection of the Russian flag.‡ Though Kaumualii had good grounds for resentment towards and distrust of Kamehameha, and is known to have revolved many plans that had for their end his own security, yet he must have had such wholesome regard for the power and resources of his chief, that he must have been convinced at an early date of the folly of risking his all in a life and death struggle with the conqueror. The fortifications and transactions on Kauai were nothing if not a threat against Kamehameha's authority and empire, and were so interpreted by him.

Not to anticipate the course of events, Kamehameha, having rested from the labors of settling the affairs of his newly conquered kingdom, and having received the submission of Kaumualii, had departed from Oahu with his army and fleet, and at the time of the occurrences on Kauai just mentioned was looking after his interests on Hawaii and the other windward islands. In 1816, during the progress of the above mentioned events on Kauai, the Russian brig *Ilmen*, which had been trading on the coast of Mexico, called in at Honolulu for repairs, and soon after was joined by the Russian ship *Kadiak*, the American name of which had been The Myrtle, under the command of Captain Young, being consigned by Baranof to the care of Dr. Scheffer, a conjuncture that brought together at Honolulu a force of eighty or ninety Russians. In the absence of the king and without the authority of any permission granted, they landed and proceeded to build a block house on a site near the water's edge and not far from the corner of Queen and Nuuanu streets, mounting guns, and, as usual, hoisting the flag of Russia. This

‡ H. H. Bancroft. Loc. cit., p. 507.

action of course caused great alarm in the minds of natives and foreign residents alike, being naturally interpreted as the first step in an attempt to gain footing and finally possession of the islands. A messenger was at once hurried off to carry the alarm to Kamehameha on Hawaii, who promptly responded by dispatching a large force of warriors under the command of his *pu-kaua*, general, Kalani-moku (popularly known as Kalaimoku or William Pitt), accompanied by Hoa-pili, Na-ihe, Kaikioewa, Kalei-hokū and other of his redoubtable warrior-chiefs. The famous corps of *Okaka*, composed of picked fighting men of splendid physique and chiefish rank, formed part of the troops. The transportation of this large body of warriors was accomplished partly in canoes, but mostly on sailing vessels of foreign construction, of which Kamehameha had been able to add quite a number to his fleet.

The instructions of the king to his generals on parting with them are indicative of his sagacity. "You are now going," said he, "to contend with white men. Observe well the conduct of the Russians, but be slow to come to an open rupture with them. Exhort the people to bear ill treatment with great patience; but be ready, if necessary, to make stout resistance. And if you do not have to fight them, then you had better treat them with hospitality, giving presents of vegetables and swine." Kamehameha's forces made such a brave showing on their arrival at Honolulu and created such a profound impression, almost amounting to consternation (*maka'u honua*) in the minds of the would-be invaders of Oahu, that they at once took to their ships and sailed for Kauai, where the Ilmen and Kadiak made a prolonged stay; and it was at this time and with the help of the re-enforcements thus made available that Doctor Scheffer was enabled to complete the fortifications already mentioned.

In consideration of the defenceless condition of the port of Honolulu, Kalai-moku, after consultation with John Young, at once formed plans for the construction of a substantial fort as a protection against further incursions of invaders. He accordingly issued a proclamation (*kuauhaua*) summoning all the men and women of Oahu to assemble at Honolulu to aid in erecting the "*papu*," the name of which was to be "*Kekuanohu*." To this

order Keeauumoku, the chief of Waialua, objected and stiffly declined to allow the people of that apana to be drafted for this work, alleging that their services were required for the collection of sandal-wood from the mountains. On that ground they were excused. Ground was first broken in January, 1816, but the work was barely accomplished by the end of the year.

The immediate cause that prompted the erection of the fort, as has been seen, was the threat of foreign invasion, and whatever views may be entertained as to the amount of credit due that structure in acting as a deterrent to further attempts of the sort on the part of the Russians, there can be no doubt that it served a useful purpose by placing in a very clear light the determination of the king and chiefs to do their utmost and to tolerate no infringement of the rights and liberties of the land. If its presence did nothing more than to act as a moral tonic on the courage of the king, his generals and warriors, the Honolulu Fort fully justified the wisdom of those who planned its erection.

The student of history cannot afford to speculate in any but the most serious mood as to the developments that might have grown out of the attempts of the Russians to gain a footing on the soil of these islands. By whatever name one designates the settlements made by the agents of Governor Baranof, whether they be called *factories*, *trading stations*, or *plantations*, they were in fact nothing less than military establishments, forts, the entrance of the wedge that had for its purpose the overthrow of Hawaiian independence. One cannot withhold from Doctor Scheffer the credit of using to good advantage the political situation as he found it, and of making his dispositions well accord with the situation of affairs that prevailed in the Hawaiian kingdom at the time of his arrival here. It must be borne in mind that the only bond that held the King of Kauai in allegiance to the conqueror of the other islands of the group was the breath of honor—a compact the obligation of which had but slight hold on the conscience of Kamehameha—and if that could be dissolved, negatived by the initiation, or acceptance, of an overt act, whether his own or that of another, there would have been created a state of affairs, a complication, from which it is conceiv-

able that by a man possessing determination and skill, force of genius, there might have been plucked from the tangle of events some strong chance of success. If Doctor Scheffer had been able to persuade King Ka-umu-alii to keep him company a little further on the road he was travelling, it would not have required many more stages to bring him to the point of open rebellion, and thus to have gained for the wily Russian agent the decisive advantage, if it were but temporary, of a crisis in which his Hawaiian dupe would have been compelled to look to him for succor and support.

But the plans of Doctor Scheffer—and they were also the plans of Governor Baranof—did not meet with the diplomatic approval of the imperial government, and the Doctor, thus cut off from his base of supplies, as well as of moral support, New Archangel, was unable to make good his promises to Kaumu-alii. As it was the actions of the king of Kauai had gone far enough to awaken the deepest concern of Kamehameha and to call forth from him demands so strenuous that Ka-umu-alii could not afford to disregard them. Early in 1817, the Fort at Honolulu having been completed, came the demand, final and decisive, for the expulsion of the invader, and Doctor Scheffer, discredited at home and repulsed on Kauai, was compelled to put to sea at short notice and make his way as best he could in a leaky ship to Honolulu, where the vessel was allowed asylum only on the condition of giving up all her guns.

There is in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum “a Russian brass cannon bearing the date 1807, which, it is thought, probably once belonged to the Kadiak.”†

To quote from Bancroft, the historian of the Pacific coast: “Thus ended the (Russian) attempt at colonization in the Hawaiian Islands, whereby nothing was gained, and a loss of 250,-000 roubles was incurred by the Russian-American Company.”‡

Having thus disposed of the Russians, we can now resume the story of the old Fort. The material was mostly adobe, faced without and within with thick walls of coral rock, of that porous

† “The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai.” p. 12. W. D. Alexander.

‡ Loc. Cit. p. 509. H. H. Bancroft. The rouble equalled about 73 cents.

kind which abounds in the reefs immediately about the harbor of Honolulu, the same as was in later years used in the construction of the "Stone Church" at Kawaiahao. The fort was a rectangular structure, about three hundred and forty feet long by three hundred feet wide, with walls twelve feet high and twenty feet thick at the base. In curious disregard of sound military principles, its longest face, which was quite straight, fronted the inner *cul de sac* of the harbor, that namely which lay opposite to Robinson's wharf. The consequent narrowness of its sea front, that which looked toward the channel, the quarter whence the real danger might be expected, was in part compensated for by the fact that at this end its wall, following the line of the shore, whose waters at high tide or in storm dashed against its base, was curved slightly outward, giving it a battle frontage of about three hundred and thirty-six feet from western to southern corner. Its Waikiki, or southeastern, wall was straight and placed parallel with its harbor wall, having a length of about two hundred and seventy-seven feet. The main entrance looked up Fort street, and during at least the last years of its existence was closed by heavy wooden gates hung on massive iron hinges. There was also a lesser entrance that pierced the sea wall near the southern corner. The armament consisted of about forty guns of different calibre, six eight, twelve and probably a few thirty-two pounders. At least one of these was of brass, mention of which will be made later.

Mention has been made of the existence of embrasures † and countenance is apparently given to that supposition from the appearance of an old sketch giving an ocean view of the harbor and fort, which certainly does picture them. That, however was long before the days of photography, and from the testimony of old residents, whose acquaintance with the structure dates as far back as the early forties, as well as from internal evidence gained from study of the fort itself, the writer is inclined to call in question their existence at any time. Personal recollection enables me to state that from the year 1849 to the date of the fort's dismantlement and entire demolition in 1857 the guns were mounted

* Alexander. Brief Hist. of the Hawn. People. p. 160.

en barbette on old fashioned carriages, which rested on the level parapet in the most confiding and unprotected manner. A broadside of grape or canister would have swept the parapets clean and driven the gunners to cover within the *enciente* itself.

But in spite of its scientific deficiencies, the old fort during the early years of its history rendered an important service by exercising a salutary moral influence over the port and town. For many years the guns formed the saluting battery for Honolulu. The earliest occasion for this peaceful demonstration was on December 14, 1816, when salutes were exchanged with the Russian ship Rurick, on which Captain Kotzebue was making a voyage of discovery about the world. This was Kotzebue's first voyage to the islands. The salutes were made as the Rurick was leaving the harbor, where the captain and his ship had been most hospitably received.

In the winter of 1830-31, Liliha, the widow of Boki, who was governess of Oahu in conjunction with Kīnau, in the absence of the king, of Kaahumanāu and the leading chiefs, who were making a tour of the windward islands, encouraged by certain disaffected foreigners, purchased arms and ammunition, filled the fort with armed men from Waianae and raised the standard of revolt. She was, however, quickly brought to terms by her father, the brave warrior Hoa-pili, who hastened to Honolulu without arms or troops, and by his moral influence persuaded her to surrender without the spilling of blood.

On the 20th of October, 1840, the fort was the central point of a momentous and impressive scene, that being the occasion of the formal infliction of capital punishment by hanging for the first time in the Hawaiian Islands, in accordance with the new lights of justice imported from abroad. (It may be stated that only a few days before the first constitution had been published as the voluntary act of the king.) The fact that the foremost offender in the crime, that of wife-poisoning, was a chief of no mean rank named Kamanawa (a relative of the late King Kalakaua) gave to the affair unusual importance; and it should be set down to the credit of the young king, Kamehameha III, that he did not interpose the pardoning power to stay the hand of

justice in the case of a man of rank. The gallows was set up on the mauka parapet of the fort, just east of the gate and this object lesson to evil-doers was witnessed by an immense concourse of people.

The events of 1843 mark that year as standing at a most critical point in Hawaiian history, that being the year of the provisional cession of the government to Great Britain. The consummation of this act was accomplished by public announcement at three o'clock on February 25th, 1843. Standing on the rampart of the fort, King Kau-i-ke-aouli, Kamehameha III, delivered the following pathetic address :

"Where are you, chiefs, people and commoners, of the same blood as myself, and people from foreign lands! Listen! I declare to you that I am perplexed with the difficulties into which I have been brought without just cause. The result has been that I have ceded away the government, the life, of our land; hear ye! But my rule over you, my people, and your privileges will be preserved, for I have confidence that the life of the land will be restored when my action shall be justified."

The act of cession was then read, followed by the reading of Lord Paulet's proclamation, after which the Hawaiian flag was lowered and British colors were hoisted to the mast-head and the day's work was accomplished by salutes from the "Carysfort" and the Honolulu Fort, after which the marines marched in to the music of the band. It is a satisfaction to be able to think that Lord Paulet's triumph over decency and justice had a life of but five months and six days.

French Outrages. In August, 1849, the French frigate *Poursuivante* and corvette *Gassendi* arrived at Honolulu, and after making demands which could not be granted, Admiral de Tromelin landed an armed force and took possession of the custom house and other public property, and committed acts which he was pleased to call "reprisals." The brunt of this hysterical blow fell heavily on the fort and its armament. When Governor Ke-kuanaoa was called upon to surrender the place, in accordance with the policy of non-resistance that had been agreed upon, he withdrew his men and allowed the French party to enter and

take possession; but when ordered to haul down the Hawaiian flag, he declined to do it. During the ten days of outrage and pillage that followed, the emblem of Hawaiian independence remained at the mast-head. The representatives of the most Christian defender of the faith thereupon proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the properties that remained within the enclosure. Cannon were dismounted, broken and spiked, their carriages wrecked, the powder thrown into the ocean. In spite of de Tromelin's manifesto posted about the town, which declared that private property would be respected, the furniture, ornaments and personal effects of Governor Kekuanaoa—and most grievous of all, his calabashes, a fine collection—were destroyed or pilfered, thus causing this heroic act of gallic spite to be dubbed "the war of the calabashes."

Peculiar interest attaches to the fate of a long brass cannon which lay unmounted on the parapet not far from the fort's western angle. It was probably of Spanish manufacture, and imagination is invited to adorn its history previous to its arrival at Honolulu with any amount of romance. Age and contact with the world had imparted to it that delicious bronzy tint suggestive of rich wine or a peachy Castilian cheek. Besides other adornments, it bore in relief the Latin motto "*Ultima ratio regum,*" (the last argument of kings.) When the Frenchman came to this work of art he first tried to cut off its trunions by chiseling a furrow about their base and then smiting heavy blows with a sledge hammer. But this attempt at mutilation failed and the story is told that the final blow given by the Frenchman missed its aim and smashed the man's foot. After the departure of the invaders an attempt was made to remove the steel with which its touch-hole had been spiked. During that operation the workman sat astride of the gun, and by some chance a heavy charge of powder which the Frenchman had put into its chamber, was fired. The spike was driven up through the man's head, but strange to relate, did not cause his death. The gun was pointed across the harbor at the time and the shot and scraps of iron, with which it had been filled, in their flight struck a man aboard a vessel lying near the present site of the wharf of the Oahu Railroad and Land Com-

pany, causing his death. Probably many besides the writer can remember the ruinous disorder which reigned within the fort when the French occupation had come to an end—the mutilated cannon, the dismembered gun-carriages, the scattered ammunition, the broken furniture and smashed calabashes in Kekuanaoa's house; also de Tromelin's proclamation, printed in the Hawaiian language, which still remained pasted at the mauka entrance in which *vv* did duty for *w*, and *t* took the place of *k*, all of which peculiarities aroused the schoolboy's scorn and indignation. Among other things stolen was the royal yacht, Kamehameha III, which was taken to Tahiti and never returned nor paid for. When sail was set and the trim craft pointed to sea, for some mysterious reason she would not move, and much laughter and many jokes were indulged in at the expense of the Frenchman. The secret of the vessel's patriotic attachment to Hawaiian soil was not solved until a diver was sent down, and it was found that a stout line had been attached to her keel and made fast ashore.

A description of the fort's interior must be based partly on personal recollection and partly on the testimony of *kama-ainas*, none of which reach farther back than the forties. Admitted by the armed sentry through the gate at the foot of Fort street—Hawaii had a “Department of the Army and Navy” in those days under the presiding care of that staunch and patriotic diplomat, Robert Crichton Wyllie—one found himself standing on a level parade ground of nearly two acres in area, that afforded room for the evolutions of a regiment. Facing the visitor was a row of stone cells built up against the sea-wall at the makai end of the fort, which were used for the confinement of prisoners; and many was the unruly or riotous sailor, who during the “whaling season,” when the ships in the harbor were packed like herrings in a tub, was thrust therein to cool his head and quiet his enthusiasm over night after undue indulgences ashore. Turning to the left and facing the Waikiki wall, one looked upon the powder magazine, the whitewashed stone arches of which fortunately were never put to the test of a bombardment. A substantial flight of stone steps in the eastern corner led to the parapet. Mounting these and expanding his lungs to the delicious breeze

that wafts down the valley, one found himself on an elevated promenade, commanding a view of the town unobstructed by the forest growth that veils and at the same time beautifies the Honolulu of today. The principal trees to be seen in Honolulu in those days were the cocoanut, the *hau* (hibiscus) and the kukui. The crooked and angular forms of the *hau* were to be seen growing directly out of the parapet, furnishing what was much appreciated as a shelter against the tropical sun. In another part of the rampart, angular forms of the latter were to be seen growing directly out of the parapet, furnishing what was much appreciated as a shelter against the tropical sun. In another part of the rampart, cheek by jowl with the rusty guns, stood rude shanties put up by the native soldiery as a shelter against the elements. Altogether we find the fort to be a curious medley of the emblems of peace and war—the kingdom of the Kamehamehas was peace.

Built up alongside of this Waikiki rampart, with upper floor flush with and resting upon it, stood two nondescript framed houses, soldiers' quarters and barracks, perhaps in the lower story, but in the upper story of one the Police Court at the time under consideration held its sessions. It was in the forties, or perhaps a little earlier, that the doughty chieftain Kekaumaoa exercised the dual functions of judge and governor in this very place, now balancing the scales of justice and now wielding the sword to execute the penalty himself had imposed. Still standing on the parapet, looking south, one might see not many yards away that famous old government house, "*Hale Kauwila*," so called because its timbers were the sacred kauwila rafters obtained from the "*Hale o Keawe*," the royal mausoleum in Kona, Hawaii, which the iconoclastic zeal of Kaahu-manu (exercising from her point of view a righteous indignation) destroyed in 1829.

In November (9), 1852, occurred the "sailors' riot" in Honolulu. It grew out of an unfortunate incident that happened within the fort, and revolved about that enclosure as a storm-center, for a time enveloping it in the black clouds that threatened war. It was during the fall whaling season; the harbor was crowded with whale-ships, and the number of seamen in port reached to the thousands. An American sailor by the name of

Burns, confined in one of the cells for drunkenness during the night, became noisy and unruly. A policeman named Sherman went in to quiet him, the sedative being his club, and by an unlucky blow in the dark inflicted an injury that resulted in the man's death. The indignation and excitement among the American sailors rose to fever heat and was fed by the doings at the funeral, on which occasion the whole multitude in solemn procession marched up the valley to the cemetery, bearing a huge American flag. The mob then assembled at the fort and demanded that the policeman be delivered up to them, and when that was refused they threatened to take the fort by storm and deal with affairs in their own way. Mr. E. H. Allen, U. S. Consul (afterwards Chief Justice), standing on the parapet of the fortification, addressed the inflamed mob and used all the persuasions and blandishments of oratory in an effort to pacify it, but with only partial success. They were, however, for the moment diverted from the immediate object of attack, but later in the day turned their attention to the Station House, which stood not far from the foot of Nuuanu street and so close to the shipping that when it was fired the flames were communicated to the nearest whale-ship, thus endangering the whole fleet, to the number of hundreds of vessels, that lay crowded together in the harbor. Liquor, obtained from saloons that were broken open, added fuel to the excitement and the town was at the mercy of the rioters. W. C. Parke, brave and energetic, was Marshal, and he earnestly requested to be permitted to put down the rising with a strong hand by the use of the forces under his command, but this proposition was negatived by wiser and more peaceful counsels. A muster of citizens and foreign residents, including the officers of some of the ships in port, was held within the fort and a military organization, "The Hawaiian Guards," was formed, and after some demur martial law was proclaimed by the Governor. Meantime liquor, freely indulged in, by its stupifying influence, had helped to work the cure of its own evils, and the alarm occasioned in those of more reasonable mind among the sailors at the narrow escape from the loss of the whole fleet and all their earnings acted as a damper on their lawless ardor. The military organization having been completed,

the native militia together with the newly formed volunteers that included some of the captains and officers of the fleet, now marched out from the fort and patrolled the town. They carried the day; numerous arrests were made, and without further violence the town settled down to its ordinary quiet.

Destruction of the Fort. In 1857, after forty years of existence, the Honolulu Fort was clearly no longer a necessary part of the military establishment of Hawaii. Arrangements had been made to provide more suitable headquarters for the Police Department and a prison, and for years the guns on Punchbowl had done duty as saluting battery. With the growth of commercial prosperity, incident in part to the California "gold-fever," and the stimulus given to trade by the opening up of that country, it was found necessary to increase the facilities of the harbor. The old fort had come to be an anachronism. It occupied ground that had assumed a high commercial value and must be demolished to make way for the growth of the town along the water-front. It was an era of public improvements. A tract of reef and shoal water on the southeastern side of the harbor had been purchased by the government from Queen Dowager Kalama, and the walls of Ke-kua-nohu did good stead as material for filling in, resulting in the addition of sixteen acres of new land, "*Aina-hou*," called also the "Esplanade," to the business part of the town. The coral stones from the fort walls found their use at once in helping to build the two thousand feet of water-front that were thus added to, or perhaps more truly, taken from the harbor. Fort street was widened and continued to the water's edge, and Honolulu trimmed and made herself ready for the new prosperity that was looming up ahead.

N. B. EMERSON.

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*Helekunihi, Elias.

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Achi, W. C.	Allen, W. F.	
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